

Message Text

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2799
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
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USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BELGIUM
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 7 MBFR VIENNA 0235

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
SUBJ: MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES OF
APRIL 18, 1978

BELOW IS TEXT OF RECORD OF INFORMAL SESSION OF APRIL 18,
WHICH IS BEING TRANSMITTED BY TELEGRAM AS PER INSTRUCTIONS.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE APRIL 18, 1978 INFORMAL
SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE LAST OF THE PRESENT ROUND,
THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE CANADIAN, FRG AND US REPS,
AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, CZECHOSLOVAK
REP KEBLUSEK AND POLISH REP STRULAK. MILITARY ADVISORS WERE
ALSO PRESENT.

2. IN THIS SESSION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES PRESENTED
A FAIRLY STANDARD CRITICISM OF THE WESTERN POSITION ON MANPOWER
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LIMITATIONS AND ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS, ATTACKED THE ACCURACY
OF WESTERN DATA, AND MADE A STANDARD STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE
EAST'S NO INCREASE PROPOSAL. THEY MADE ONLY BRIEF MENTION OF THE
WESTERN INITIATIVE, STATING AT THE END OF THEIR PREPARED REMARKS
THAT THEY WOULD STUDY IT CAREFULLY. THEY ASKED NO FURTHER
QUESTIONS ON THE INITIATIVE. EASTERN REPS ALSO RESPONDED TO
EARLIER WESTERN QUESTIONS ON DATA RAISED IN THE APRIL 14 INFORMAL

SESSION, POSTPONING HOWEVER THEIR REPLY TO THE QUESTION ON POLISH INCLUSIONS AND EXCLUSIONS ASKED AT THAT TIME. WESTERN REPS POINTED TO THE NEED FOR AN EASTERN REPLY TO THE WESTERN INITIATIVE WHICH WOULD MOVE THE VIENNA TALKS DECISIVELY TOWARDS AN AGREEMENT AND EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF AGREEMENT ON DATA ON WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

3. POLISH REP SAID ONE POSITIVE ASPECT OF THE PAST ROUND WAS THAT DATA WERE EXCHANGED. THIS WAS THE ONLY POSITIVE ASPECT OF THE ROUND BECAUSE OTHERWISE, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO DEFEND THEIR REDUCTION APPROACH WHICH BLOCKED PROGRESS. POLISH REP SAID THE WESTERN APPROACH WOULD ALLOW SOME WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES EVEN OVER THEIR PRESENT LEVEL, WHILE ESTABLISHING STRICT LIMITATIONS FOR THE USSR. ON THE BASIS OF OFFICIAL EASTERN DATA FOR EASTERN FORCES IN THE AREA, THE ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS DEMANDED BY THE WEST WOULD RESULT IN FEWER EASTERN FORCES IN THE AREA THAN WESTERN FORCES. THE EASTERN REDUCTION APPROACH DID NOT HAVE THESE DISADVANTAGES.

4. ACTING CANADIAN REP SAID THAT, WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE, THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS HAD CLEARLY REACHED A POTENTIAL TURNING POINT. THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD EITHER MOVE DECISIVELY TOWARDS AN AGREEMENT OR REMAIN AT AN IMPASSE. IF THE GOVERNMENTS OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WISHED TO MOVE FORWARD TO AN AGREEMENT, THEY SHOULD ACCEPT
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THE WESTERN APPROACH AS MODIFIED BY THE NEW WESTERN PROPOSALS.

5. CZECHOSLOVAK REP CRITICIZED WESTERN BEHAVIOR IN THE DATA FIELD. THE WEST WAS STILL CONTINUING TO MAKE EXAGGERATED CLAIMS WITHOUT EVIDENCE. IN FACT, WESTERN DATA HAD BEEN ASSUMED A BEGIN UNDERLINE PRIORI END UNDERLINE IN ORDER TO MAKE A CASE FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. CZECHOSLOVAK REP URGED WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL FIGURES AND MADE A LONG STATEMENT FOR THE EAST'S NO INCREASE PROPOSAL.

AT THE END OF HIS STATEMENT, CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT THE EAST WOULD CAREFULLY STUDY THE WESTERN INITIATIVE FROM A CRITICAL VIEWPOINT TO DETERMINE TO WHAT EXTENT WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD DEPARTED FROM THEIR PREVIOUS LINE AIMED AT OBTAINING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES.

6. TARASOV REPLIED TO DATA QUESTIONS ASKED BY BELGIAN REP IN THE APRIL 14 INFORMAL SESSION. HOWEVER, HE SAID THE EAST WOULD REPLY LATER TO QUESTION RAISED BY THE BELGIAN REP AS TO WHETHER THE ONLY PERSONNEL WHOM THE EAST

HAS EXCLUDED FROM ITS FIGURES ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE
IN THE POLISH UNITS FOR TERRITORIAL DEFENSE WERE POLISH
PERSONNEL WHO SERVED ON A PART-TIME BASIS. END SUMMARY.

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7. POLISH REP AS HOST WELCOMED PARTICIPANTS. HE
SAID THAT, SINCE THE PRESENT SESSION WAS THE LAST INFORMAL
SESSION OF THE 14TH ROUND, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WISHED
TO EXPRESS SOME VIEWS AS TO THE RESULTS OF THE WORK DONE SO FAR,
AS WELL AS ON THE POSSIBILITY FOR MEANINGFUL PROGRESS. AS
A POSITIVE ASPECT OF THE ROUND, ONE COULD MENTION THE
EXCHANGE OF DATA WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE ON THE BASIS OF THE
EASTERN PROPOSALS OF OCTOBER 25, 1977. THIS EXCHANGE SHOULD
HELP IN ADVANCING THE NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDED THAT THE WEST
AVAILED ITSELF OF THE DATA SUBMITTED BY THE EAST IN ORDER
TO CORRECT THE WEST'S SERIOUS MISTAKES IN COUNTING THE FORCES
OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

8. POLISH REP SAID THAT, THIS QUESTION APART, THE
PAST ROUND HAD REALLY NOT BROUGHT ANY POSITIVE RESULTS ON
THE MAIN ISSUES OF THE WORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE
WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO DEFEND THEIR ORIGINAL
SCHEME OF REDUCTIONS WHICH ACTUALLY WAS OBSTRUCTING THE
POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING A CONCRETE, MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
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UNDERSTANDING ON DECREASING THE MILITARY CONCENTRATION IN
CENTRAL EUROPE.

9. POLISH REP CONTINUED THAT, DURING UNOFFICIAL AS WELL AS PLENARY MEETINGS IN THE LAST ROUND, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WESTERN STATES HAD REPEATEDLY RAISED THE POINT THAT ONLY THE FINAL OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS, NOT THE REDUCTIONS THEMSELVES TAKEN SEPARATELY, OR THE METHOD OF REDUCTIONS, COULD SERVE AS THE REAL CRITERIUM OF THE ACCEPTABILITY OF AN AGREEMENT. BUT IT SEEMED TO EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES THAT SUCH AN APPROACH TO THE QUESTION WAS UNJUSTIFIED. IT WAS UNQUESTIONABLE THAT BOTH THE FINAL OUTCOME AND THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF REDUCTIONS WERE INTERRELATED PARTS OF THE VERY SAME PROCESS. ON THIS ASSUMPTION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES CONSIDERED THAT, IN ASSESSING ONE PROPOSAL OR ANOTHER ON REDUCTIONS, IT WAS NECESSARY COMPREHENSIVELY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT BOTH THE FINAL OUTCOME AND THE WAYS IN WHICH IT WOULD BE ATTAINED. IT WAS WITH THESE CRITERIA IN MIND THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD APPROACHED THE ANALYSIS OF THE WESTERN REDUCTIONS SCHEME. THEY HAD BEEN BOUND TO REACH THE CONCLUSION THAT IT COULD SCARCELY BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. WHAT WOULD BE THE MAIN RESULT OF THE REALIZATION OF THAT SCHEME? AS WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES THEMSELVES HAD

MANY TIMES EXPLAINED, IT WOULD BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARITY IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING PARITY IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING PARITY FOR THE GROUND FORCES OF NATO AND OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHICH WOULD TAKE THE FORM OF THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD ALREADY, AND ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, POINTED TO THE SERIOUS DEFECTS OF SUCH AN APPROACH. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD NOW RECALL SOME OF THESE DEFECTS.

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10. POLISH REP SAID THAT, FIRST, THE WESTERN APPROACH ALLOWED FOR AN INCREASE OF FORCES BY INDIVIDUAL STATES AS COMPARED EVEN WITH THEIR PRESENT LEVEL, WHICH AS ONE COULD EASILY SEE, CONTRADICTED THE VERY IDEA OF FORCE REDUCTIONS. SECOND, IF ONE TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THAT THE COMMON CEILING PROPOSAL WAS COMBINED IN A SINGLE PACKAGE WITH THE DEMAND TO IMPOSE A NATIONAL CEILING ON THE SOVIET FORCES, THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO ESTABLISHING STRICT LIMITATIONS FOR USSR FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WHILE, ON THE OTHER HAND, NO SUCH LIMITAIONS WOULD BE PLACED ON THE WESTERN EUROPEAN FORCES

WHICH, BECAUSE OF THEIR SIZE AND ROLE, FORMED THE BACK-BONE OF THE NATO MILITARY GROUPING IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

11. POLISH REP SAID THAT, THIRD, WESTERN REPS HAD OPENLY DECLARED THAT THE OUTCOME PROPOSED BY THEM SHOULD BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. THAT IS, BY FORCE REDUCTIONS BY THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS ALMOST THREE TIMES AS GREAT AS THOSE BY THE NATO COUNTRIES. IF SUCH AN APPROACH WERE TO BE ACCEPTED, THEN UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE EXISTING APPROXIMATELY EQUAL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF FORCES OF THE TWO GROUPINGS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THE REDUCTIONS PROPOSED BY THE WEST WOULD RESULT IN A SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER NUMBER OF WESTERN FORCES REMAINING IN THE REELECTION AREA THAN THOSE OF THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. ALL THIS WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO A SHIFT IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES, NOW CHARACTERIZED BY APPROXIMATE PARTITY, IN FAVOR OF THE WESTERN STATES.

12. POLISH REP CONTINUED THAT, IF ONE WAS TO SPEAK OF THIS OUTCOME, WHICH WAS THE BASIC CRITERION FOR WESTERN REPS AND WHICH THEY PROPOSED TO ATTAIN AS A RESULT OF ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS, THEN THIS COULD HARDLY BE TAKEN BY EASTERN

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PARTICIPANTS AS A BASIS FOR AGREEMENT, SINCE WHAT WAS ACTUALLY BEING ENVISAGED WAS ULTIMATELY NOT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARITY, BUT AN INFRINGEMENT UPON IT.

13. POLISH REP CONTINUED THAT, UNLIKE THE WESTERN STATES, THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS PROPOSED THAT THE COUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS BE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE, EQUIVALENT, AND EQUITABLE FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. SUCH A PURPOSE COULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT. THIS WOULD NOT LEAD TO A CHANGE OF THE EXISTING, APPROXIMATELY EQUAL FORCE RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND WOULD AT THE SAME TIME ENSURE A CONSIDERABLE LOWERING ON THE LEVEL OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS DEPLOYED THERE.

14. POLISH REP CONTINUED THAT, AT THE SAME TIME, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE METHOD AND MODALITIES OF REDUCTIONS. IN THIS RESPECT ALSO, EASTERN REPS HAD PUT FORWARD EQUITABLE AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PROPOSALS WHICH, TO PUT IT BRIEFLY, PROVIDED FOR THE REDUCTION OF

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ARMED FORCES WITHIN A TIME TO BE AGREED IN ADVANCE ALONG WITH THEIR ARMAMENTS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT BY WHOLE UNITS, WITH THEIR SUBSEQUENT DISBANDMENT. THESE MODALITIES OF REDUCTIONS SHOULD, THE EAST CONSIDERED, BE THE SAME FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

15. DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, ACTING CANADIAN REP SAID THAT AT THE APRIL 12 INFORMAL SESSION, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD INTRODUCED A NEW INITIATIVE, INTENDED TO CREATE THE BASIS FOR A FIRST AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAD NOW CONTINUED FOR OVER FOUR AND ONE HALF YEARS, WITH NO SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS, SINCE AN AGREEMENT WHICH INCREASED STABILITY AND STRENGTHENED PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE WOULD GIVE DETENTE A GENUINE AND FIRM BASIS.

16. CANADIAN REP STATED THAT THE WEST BELIEVED THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR AN EFFORT BY ALL PARTICIPANTS TO OVERCOME THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND TO ENTER INTO A DECISIVE PHASE OF NEGOTIATION OF A FIRST AGREEMENT. WHETHER OR NOT THE NEGOTIATION NOW ACTUALLY DID ENTER A DECISIVE STAGE DEPENDED ON THE RESPONSE WHICH EASTERN GOVERNMENTS MADE TO THIS NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE. THE REVISED WESTERN APPROACH WOULD RESULT IN AN AGREEMENT ADVANTAGEOUS TO ALL PARTICIPANTS.

17. CANADIAN REP SAID THAT RHROUGH THIS INITIATIVE, THE WEST HAD TAKEN DIRECT ACCOUNT OF THE TWO MAJOR EXPRESSED CONCERNS OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOW RECEIVE A COMMITMENT THAT THE WESTERN MILITARY MANPOWER FACING THEM IN THE AREA WOULD BE REDUCED BY A SPECIFIED AMOUNT AT A SPECIFIED TIME, AND WOULD NOT EXCEED THE REDUCED LEVEL. THE REQUIREMENTS FOR PHASE I WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY DECREASED

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FOR THE USSR, AND MADE MORE SPECIFIC FOR THE US, IN THE WAY WESTERN REPS HAD DESCRIBED. THUS, THESE PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT EFFECT ON THE OUTCOME OF AN AGREEMENT.

18. CANADIAN REP STATED THAT, WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS NEW INITIATIVE, THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS HAD CLEARLY REACHED A POTENTIAL TURNING POINT. THAT IS, THESE NEGOTIATIONS COULD EITHER MOVE DECISIVELY TOWARD AN AGREEMENT BASED ON THE OBJECTIVES STATED IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS. OR THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD REMAIN AT THEIR PRESENT STANDBY, PREVENTING PARTICIPANTS FROM ADVANCING TOWARD THEIR AGREED OBJECTIVES, AND CAUSING THEM TO MISS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONSIDERED THAT IF THE GOVERNMENTS OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WISHED TO MOVE FORWARD TO AN AGREEMENT, THEY SHOULD ACCEPT THE WESTERN APPROACH AS MODIFIED BY THE NEW PROPOSALS.

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19. THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPRESENTATIVE SAID WESTERN
REPRESENTATIVES EMPHASIZED THAT THE CONCLUSION OF AN

AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMED FORCES WAS CONDITIONAL ON THE MANPOWER DATA. BUT BEFORE LEAVING FOR THE RECESS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WISHED TO SAY WITH ALL OPENNESS THAT THE WEST'S POSITION IN THE DATA DISCUSSION UP TO THE PRESENT HAD NOT AT ALL FACILITATED THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN AGREEMENT ON THE IMPORTANT QUESTION OF MILITARY MANPOWER. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUED TO CLAIM, WITHOUT GIVING ANY EVIDENCE, THAT THEIR ARBITRARY EVALUATION OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES WAS CORRECT. THEY HAD NOT SHOWN ANY SUGGESTION OF WILLINGNESS TO CORRECT THEIR ESTIMATES IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD PRESENTED OFFICIAL FIGURES ON THEIR ARMED FORCES A LONG TIME AGO AND THAT, ALREADY FOR A WHOLE YEAR NOW, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD BEEN GIVING EXPLANATIONS WITH REGARD TO THESE FIGURES, PATIENTLY AND IN A BUSINESSLIKE MANNER ANSWERING ALL THE SECRET

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QUESTIONS OF THE WESTERN SIDE.

20. CEZECOSLOVAK REPRESENTATIVE SAID EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD TO UNDERSTAND THE STATEMENTS OF WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES REGARDING THE DATA ISSUE ONLY IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES UP TO THE PRESENT CONTINUED TO REGARD AGREEMENT TO THEIR INFLATED ESTIMATES OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AS A PRELIMINARY CONDITION FOR THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT. IT WAS OBSIOS THAT THE ATTITUDE OF WESTERN STATES TO THE QUESTION OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF ARMED FORCES PROCEEDED FROM THEIR OVERALL POSITION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND, JUDGING FROM ALL OTHER ASPECTS, IT HAS BEEN ASSUMED BEGIN UNDERLINE A PRIORI END UNDERLINE IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE ARTIFICIAL CONCEPT OF SO CALLED DISPARITIES. SUCH A CONCLUSION WAS BEING CONFIRMED BY THE FACT THAT THE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUED TO REFUSE TO PROCEED FROM THE OFFICIAL GOVERNMENTAL DATA SUBMITTED BY THE WARSAW TREATY STATES WITH REGARD TO THEIR ARMED FORCES IN THE REDUCTION ARE. IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT IF WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES INTENDED TO FURTHER INSIST WITHOUT ANY GROUNDS ON THEIR ASSERTIONS REGARDING DISPARITIES, THE DATA DISCUSSION WOULD LEAD TO NOTHING. IT WAS THEREFORE NECESSARY FOR THE WEST TO MAKE A SERIOUS AND PROFOUND REVISION OF ITS POSITION IN THIS QUESTION IF IT WAS REALLY STRIVING FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A SUCCESS IN THE VIENNA TALKS.

21. CZECHOSLOVAK REPRESENTATIVE SAID EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE FURTHER TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE CONSIDERATION OF DATA. AS WAS KNOWN,

THEY WERE PREPARED FOR THAT PURPOSE TO EXCHANGE ON THE BASIS
OF MUTUALITY THE MANNING LEVELS OF ARMED FORCES. AT THE

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SAME TIME, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE
AGAIN THAT THE DATA DISCUSSION WAS NOT AN END IN ITSELF
BUT A MEANS DESIGNED TO FACILITATE THE SEARCH FOR A
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BAIS FOR AN AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL
REDUCTIONS.

22. CZECHOSLOVAK REP CONTINUED THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES
WERE FURTHER OF THE OPINION IT WAS ENTIRELY
WITHIN THE POSSIBILITIES OF PARTICIPANTS TO IMPLEMENT
ALREADY IN THE NEAREST FUTURE THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO
REACH AN AGREEMENT OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPATING STATES ON
NON-INCREASE OF THEIR FORCES IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.
ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS UNDERSTANDING ALSO DID NOT DEPEND ON THE
EXAMINATION OF DATA AND ON EVALUATIONS OF IT. EASTERN REPS
WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT THEY REGARDED THE ATTITUDE OF THE
WEST TOWARD THIS PROPOSAL FOR NON-INCREASE OF THE MANPOWER
OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE CENTER
OF EUROPE FOR THE PERIOD OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A CRITERION
OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE WESTERN APPROACH TO THE QUESTIONS
OF THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS.

23. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT, SPEAKING FRANKLY, EASTERN
REPS DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY STATES WHICH MADE DECLARATIONS
REGARDING THEIR WILLINGNESS TO END THE ARMS RACE AND TO
DECREASE THEIR MILITARY POTENTIALS REFUSED TO START FROM A
SMALL STEP, NAMELY, FROM AN UNDERSTANDING ON NOT INCREASING
THE ALREADY LARGE NUMBER OF FORCES SITUATED IN CENTRAL
EUROPE. WESTERN REPS HAD ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TOUCHED UPON
THE PROBLEM OF STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE AMONG THE
STATES. WHY, THEREFORE, DID THEY SO PERSISTENTLY REJECT THE
EAST'S SIMPLE AND CLEAR PROPOSAL, IMPLEMENTATION OF WHICH
WOULD VERY EFFECTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO THE CREATION OF AN
ATMOSPHERE OF CONFIDENTIALITY AND WOULD ENABLE PARTICIPANTS TO
CONTINUE IN CALMER CONDITIONS WITH THE PREPARATION OF AN

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AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF THE ALREADY ACCUMULATED FORCES
AND ARMAMENTS?

24. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT A COMMITMENT NOT TO
INCREASE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES MANPOWER
OF THE NATO AND WARSAW TREATY STATES WHICH WERE DIRECT PARTICI-
PANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE REDUCTION AREA WOULD HAVE A
GREAT POLITICAL, MILITARY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT. THE
DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND THE SITUATION IN THE VIENNA
NEGOTIATIONS DICTATED THE NEED FOR SUCH A CONCRETE STEP.
THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS CONFIRMED THE
POSITIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF EVEN PARTIAL AND TEMPORARY MEASURES
STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE AND STABILITY FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT
OF MORE DURABLE AGREEMENT OF A MORE COMPLEX CHARACTER.

25. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID EASTERN REPS CONSIDERED THEIR
PROPOSAL TO BE A TEMPORARY MEASURE WHICH WOULD BE LATER REPLACED
BY A REDUCTION AGREEMENT. THIS WAS WHY ITS REALIZATION DID
NOT REPRESENT BY ITSELF, AS WESTERN REPS TRIED TO CLAIM, AN
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ATTEMPT TO CONTRACTUALIZE THE ALLEGED SUPERIORITY OF THE EAST
ABOUT WHICH THE WEST WAS SPEAKING, NOR AN ATTEMPT TO PRODUCE
A NEGATIVE INFLUENCE ON THE RESULT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

26. CZECHOSLOVAK REP CONTINUED, IN RECENT DAYS THERE HAD
APPEARED ON THE NEGOTIATING TABLE CHANGES IN THE EXISTING
PROPOSALS OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. AS EASTERN REPS HAD
ALREADY SAID AT THE INFORMAL SESSION OF APRIL 12, THE REPS
OF THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD VERY CAREFULLY STUDY THIS
WESTERN INITIATIVE. IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT ITS
EXAMINATION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT FROM A CRITICAL POINT OF VIEW,
TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT MIGHT CONTRIBUTE

TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF REAL PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO THE ELABORATION OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. IN ANALYZING THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, BOTH AS A WHOLE AND IN ITS SEPARATE PARTS, EASTERN REPS WOULD STRIVE TO DETERMINE TO WHAT EXTENT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD DEPARTED FROM THEIR PREVIOUS LINE AIMED AT OBTAINING FROM THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS UNILATERAL MILITARY CONCESSIONS WHICH WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO THEIR SECURITY.

27. DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, FRG REP SAID THAT IN HIS BRIEF REMARKS IN THIS SESSION, HE WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON WHERE THE DATA DISCUSSION STOOD AS PARTICIPANTS CAME TO THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND. DURING THE ROUND, PARTICIPANTS HAD DONE USEFUL WORK IN THIS DATA DISCUSSION. WESTERN AND EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD AGREED ON THE MODALITIES OF AN EXCHANGE OF ADDITIONAL DATA. THE PARTICIPANTS HAD EXCHANGED THIS ADDITIONAL DATA. PARTICIPANTS ON BOTH SIDES HAD ASKED, AND HAD RECEIVED ANSWERS TO A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS REGARDING ASSIGNMENT OF PARTICULAR PERSONNEL TO MAJOR FORMATIONS OR TO THE SECOND CATEGORY. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE THIS DISCUSSION.

28. FRG REP STATED THAT AS AMBASSADOR OESER HAD STATED AT

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THE INFORMAL SESSION OF MARCH 15, QUOTE PARTICIPANTS HAVE TO REACH AGREEMENT FIRST OF ALL ON HOW MANY FORCES THEY HAD IN CENTRAL EUROPE SUBJECT TO REDUCTIONS. THIS AGREEMENT IS ESSENTIAL ALSO IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO ESTABLISH HOW MANY FORCES WERE TO BE REDUCED AND HOW MANY FORCES REMAINED AFTER THE REDUCTIONS UNQUOTE. WESTERN REPS AGREED WITH THESE REMARKS. BUT IT REMAINED EVIDENT THAT, BEFORE THERE COULD BE SUCH AN AGREEMENT ON DATA, THE PARTICIPANTS MUST CLARIFY THE REASONS FOR THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURES ON EASTERN MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA. IN SUM, DATA WAS A CENTRAL, UNRESOLVED POINT IN THIS NEGOTIATION.

29. FRG REP SAID THAT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD NOW PUT FORWARD A MAJOR NEW INITIATIVE WITH THE INTENTION OF MOVING THESE NEGOTIATIONS DECISIVELY TOWARDS AN AGREEMENT.

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ACTION ACDA-12

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L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /094 W
-----077316 191043Z/11

P R 190843Z APR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2804
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

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THIS NEW WESTERN MOVE COULD IN FACT CREATE THE BASIS FOR AN AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS ASSUMING THAT THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON DATA. SINCE AGREEMENT ON DATA ON MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA WAS NECESSARY FOR AN AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS, THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE WAS CONDITIONAL ON AGREEMENT ON MANPOWER DATA. THUS, WESTERN REPS CONSIDERED IT ESSENTIAL THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD NOW INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS TO DETERMINE THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY. THIS WAS A PROBLEM WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED IF FINAL PROGRESS TO AN AGREEMENT WAS TO BE ACHIEVED.

30. TARASOV SAID HE WOULD NOW LIKE TO ANSWER THE WESTERN QUESTIONS ON DATA, OR AT LEAST SOME OF THEM.

31. TARASOV SAID THE FIRST QUESTION RAISED BY BELGIAN REP IN THE APRIL 14 SESSION HAD BEEN THAT, IN THE LAST MEETING ON APRIL 12, AMB TARASOV HAD SAID THAT, IN THE ALLOCATION OF GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THE GDR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA BETWEEN THE TWO CATEGORIES, THE PERSONNEL OF DIVISIONS HAD BEEN INCLUDED,

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REGARDLESS OF THEIR SUBORDINATION IN THE FIGURES FOR MAJOR FORMATIONS. WESTERN REPS WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER DIVISIONS WERE THE ONLY UNITS NOT SUBORDINATED TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE MILITARY DISTRICTS WHOSE PERSONNEL THE EAST HAD COUNTED UNDER FIGURES FOR THE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF THE GDR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

32. TARASOV SAID THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS THAT, FIRST OF ALL, IT WAS NOT CLEAR FOR EASTERN REPS ON WHAT GROUNDS THE WEST CONSIDERED THAT DIVISIONS IN THE GDR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA WERE NOT SUBORDINATE TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF

MILITARY DISTRICTS. EASTERN REPS HAD NEVER SAID THIS.
EASTERN REPS HAD ALREADY INDICATED THAT THEY HAD COUNTED IN
THE FIGURES FOR MAJOR FORMATIONS OF THE GDR, POLISH PEOPLES'
REPUBLIC AND CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC ALL DIVISIONS,
AS WELL AS ALL OTHER UNITS AND SUBUNITS ASSIGNED TO MILITARY
DISTRICTS.

33. TARASOV SAID THE EASTERN REPLY TO THE WEST'S QUESTIONS
OF APRIL 14 CONCERNING POLISH UNITS OF TERRITORIAL DEFENSE
WOULD BE GIVEN LATER. (FOR REFERENCE THE TEXT OF THESE QUESTIONS
IS: AMBASSADOR TARASOV HAD ALSO SAID IN ANSWER TO THE
WESTERN QUESTION ON PERSONNEL OF POLISH UNITS OF TERRITORIAL
DEFENSE THAT SUCH PERSONNEL WERE CALLED UPON TO SERVE QUOTE
PERIODICALLY UNQUOTE IN THE UNITS FOR TERRITORIAL DEFENSE.
IT WAS THE WEST'S UNDERSTANDING FROM THIS THAT THESE PERSONNEL
DID NOT PERFORM THEIR ENTIRE PERIOD OF ACTIVE SERVICE IN A SINGLE
CONSECUTIVE PERIOD. INSTEAD, AFTER SOME INITIAL PERIOD OF ACTIVE
DUTY SERVICE FOLLOWING CONSCRIPTION, THEY WERE ALLOWED TO RETURN
TO THEIR HOMES, AND WERE SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED UP FOR SPECIFIC
TIME PERIODS IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH SOME NATIONAL ECONOMIC
TASKS, UNTIL THEIR FULL PERIOD OF OBLIGATION WAS COMPLETED.
WAS THIS UNDERSTANDING CORRECT? WAS IT THE CASE THAT THE ONLY
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PERSONNEL WHOM THE EAST HAD EXCLUDED FROM ITS FIGURES ON THE
GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE IN THE QUOTE POLISH UNITS FOR TERRITORIAL
DEFENSE UNQUOTE WERE THOSE POLISH PERSONNEL WHO SERVED
ON THIS PART-TIME BASIS?)

34. TARASOV SAID THE BELGIAN REP'S FOURTH QUESTION HAD BEEN,
AMB TARASOV HAD SAID THAT THE PERSONNEL OF ALL BRIGADES
SUBORDINATE TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE GDR,
HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE FIGURES FOR MAJOR FORMATIONS.
WESTERN REPS UNDERSTOOD FROM THIS THAT THE PERSONNEL OF ALL
SOVIET SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE UNITS HAD BEEN COUNTED IN
THE FIGURES FOR MAJOR FORMATIONS, REGARDLESS OF THE SUBORDINATION
OF THESE UNITS. WAS THIS CORRECT?

35. TARASOV SAID THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS YES,
THIS POINT WAS CORRECT.

36. TARASOV SAID THE BELGIAN REP'S FIFTH QUESTION ON APRIL 14

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ACTION ACDA-12

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P R 190843Z APR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2805
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AMEMBASSY BONN
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USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

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HAD BEEN, THE WEST WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IN WHICH CATEGORY OF GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL THE EAST HAD COUNTED THE PERSONNEL OF SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE UNITS WHICH WERE SUBORDINATED NEITHER TO DIVISIONS NOR TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF SOVIET ARMIES IN THE GDR.

37. TARASOV SAID THE REPLY TO THIS QUESTION WAS THAT ANTI-AIRCRAFT SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE BRIGADES WHICH WERE NOT ASSIGNED TO ARMIES AND WHICH WERE SUBORDINATED TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE GDR HAD BEEN INCLUDED BY THE EAST IN THE FIRST CATEGORY, THAT IS, THE CATEGORY OF FORCES IN MAJOR FORMATIONS.

38. TARASOV SAID THE BELGIAN REP'S SIXTH QUESTION HAD BEEN, DID THE EAST'S FIGURES FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF THE GDR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA FOLLOW THE SAME PRACTICE USED AS REGARDS THE PERSONNEL OF BRIGADES IN THE CASE OF SOVIET FIGURES? THAT IS, WERE ALL PERSONNEL OF ALL BRIGADES COUNTED IN THE FIGURES FOR GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL

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IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF THESE COUNTRIES?

39. TARASOV SAID THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS THAT PERSONNEL OF BRIGADES WHICH THE EAST HAD MENTIONED IN ITS QUESTION IN THE FORCE OF THE GDR, POLISH PEOPLES' REPUBLIC AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD BEEN COUNTED BY THE EAST IN THE FIGURES FOR THE STRENGTH OF FORCES IN MAJOR FORMATIONS

SINCE THESE BRIGADES WERE ASSIGNED TO MILITARY DISTRICTS.

40. TARASOV SAID BELGIAN REP'S SEVENTH QUESTION HAD BEEN IN WHICH CATEGORY HAD THE EAST COUNTED THE PERSONNEL OF THOSE SOVIET UNITS IN THE REDUCTION AREA WHICH WERE DEVOTED MAINLY TO TRAINING NEWLY CONSCRIPTED SOLDIERS? WHAT CRITERION HAD THE EAST USED FOR THIS ALLOCATION?

41. TARASOV SAID THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS THAT THE PERSONNEL OF TRAINING SUBUNITS AND UNITS OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA WHICH WERE ASSIGNED TO ARMIES HAD BEEN INCLUDED BY THE SOVIETS IN THE FIRST CATEGORY. THE PERSONNEL OF UNITS AND SUBUNITS OF THIS TYPE WHICH WERE SUBORDINATE TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE GDR HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE SECOND CATEGORY.

42. US REP SAID WITH REGARD TO THIS LAST POINT WHERE WOULD THE PERSONNEL OF TRAINING UNITS AND SUBUNITS OF THE SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA SSSIGNED TO THE CENTRAL GROUP OF FORCES AND THE NORTHERN GROUP OF FORCES BE INCLUDED? US REP BELIEVED TARASOV'S ANSWER DID NOT INCLUDE THIS POINT.

43. TARASOV REPLIED THAT THE PERSONNEL OF TRAINING SUBUNITS AND UNITS OF THE GROUPS OF SOVIET FORCES WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE GDR HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE FIRST CATEGORY SINCE THERE WERE NO ARMY

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FORMATIONS IN THESE TWO GROUPS OF SOVIET FORCES.

44. US REP SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO ASK TWO QUESTIONS TO CONFIRM WESTERN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT TARASOV HAD SAID ABOUT EASTERN DATA. FIRST, IT WAS WESTERN REPS' UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SOVIET GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL WHOM THE EAST HAD COUNTED IN MAJOR FORMATIONS WERE: (1) THE PERSONNEL OF ALL UNITS, SUBUNITS, AND FORMATIONS SUBORDINATE TO SOVIET ARMEIS IN THE GDR; (2) THE PERSONNEL OF THE SOVIET ARTILLERY DIVISION; (3) THE PERSONNEL OF ALL SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE BRIGADES; AND (4) ANTI-AIRCRAFT SURFACE-TO-AIR BRIGADES. WAS THIS CORRECT?

45. TARASOV SAID, AFTER CONSULTING WITH KAPITANOV AND SHUSTOV, THAT THIS STATEMENT WAS CORRECT.

46. US REP SAID IT WAS ALSO THE UNDERSTANDING OF WESTERN REPS THAT ALL SOVIET GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE GDR WHO WERE NOT IN ONE OF THE FOUR GROUPS HE HAD JUST DESCRIBED WERE COUNTED IN THE SECOND CATEGORY. WAS THIS CORRECT?

47. TARASOV REPLIED YES.

48. US REP SAID, IN THE LAST SESSION THE GDR REP HAD ASKED ABOUT THE LENGTH OF TIME NEEDED FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE PHASE I REDUCTION AGREEMENT. US REP HAD SAID IT WOULD START PROMPTLY, AND THAT HIS RECOLLECTION WAS THAT WESTERN REPS HAD MADE SOME REMARKS ON THIS TOPIC EARLIER. US REP SAID THAT, ACCORDING TO HIS RECORDS, ON FEBRUARY 27, 1974, THE US REP HAD SAID THAT REDUCTION WOULD START AS SOON AS AN AGREEMENT WENT INTO EFFECT AND THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE US COULD REDUCE AS FAST AS THE SOVIETS. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF OCTOBER 14, 1974, THE BELGIAN REP HAD STATED QUOTE THE WEST'S PRELIMINARY ASSUMPTIONS HAD BEEN THAT THE PERIOD REQUIRED TO COMPLETE THESE WITHDRAWALS SHOULD BE NO LONGER THAN 18 MONTHS UNQUOTE. US REP SAID

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THAT ON THE BASIS OF THESE STATEMENTS, IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT, IN LARGE MEASURE, THE LENGTH OF THE PERIOD WAS DEPENDENT ON THE EAST'S SPEED.

49. WESTERN REPS ASKED EASTERN REPS WHETHER THEY HAD ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS ON THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE. EASTERN REPS SAID THEY HAD NONE.

50. THE SESSION WAS CONCLUDED. THE DATE OF THE NEXT SESSION WILL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE NEXT ROUND.
END TEXT.RESOR

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